Address terms in the Malay World

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This paper posits a framework for categorizing address terms in the Malay-speaking world where every community is essentially multi-lingual. It classifies the various address terms found in Indonesia and Malaysia according to the attributes of addressees and exemplifies their usage according to the setting in which interactions occur. Four factors pertaining to addressees: social status, age/generation, gender, and ethnicity are discussed. The claim is made that there are three main situational domains by which address terms are selected: FORMAL, INTERMEDIATE, and INFORMAL. In the FORMAL domain, a speaker unequivocally uses nationally-shared address terms. In the INTERMEDIATE domain, a speaker has more choices from regionally-shared terms. Lastly, each ethnic group has its own set of address terms which are mainly used in the INFORMAL domain, and it is this domain which contains the largest number of address terms.

1. Introduction[1]

Although address terms are not integrated in the syntactic structure of languages, they are an indispensable part of everyday communication. In the Malay-speaking world, the simplest question and answer pairs such as "Where are you going?" and "To the market", require an address term (an adjunct) positioned before or after the utterance. There are a wide variety of these terms found in multi-lingual societies, primarily because various terms are available from the multiple ethnic languages spoken within them. It is unproblematic for a speaker in such a society to select a proper address term. Because, while there are a multitude of choices that differ not only from place to place, but also from social group to social group speakers, consciously or unconsciously, follow rules relating to the selection process. This paper offers a framework according to which this selection occurs, in addition to classifying varieties of address terms in a number of Malay-speaking regions.

In the next subsection, the linguistic situation in Indonesia and Malaysia will be briefly described, followed by a summary of the methodology and data (section 1.3). Section 2 briefly discusses sociolinguistic factors that are relevant to address terms, and social domains that are relevant to the classification of address terms are discussed in Section 3. Section 4 discusses lexical features of address terms and Section 5 presents features of addressee that are relevant to the selection of address terms. Section 6 discusses types

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of address term that are used in each domain, and Section 7 presents regional varieties of address terms. The last section is the summary.

1.1 Language situation in the Malay-speaking world

Indonesia and Malaysia contain the largest Malay-speaking populations. As of 2019, combined first- and second-language speakers number approximately 260 million in Indonesia and 31 million in Malaysia. Although they have well-established standard varieties of Malay as national languages, their citizens use "Colloquial varieties of Malay" or other ethnic languages for everyday communication, reserving the national language for formal situations only. It should be noted that language use in these communities is much more complex than diglossia. Firstly, there are many varieties of "Malay", as described in Adelaar and Prentice 1996 and Adelaar 2005, namely, Literary Malay, Vernacular Malay and Pidgin-derived Malay (henceforth PDM). The last type, PDM, and some colloquial varieties of Malay will be called Contact Malay in the following description (cf. Adelaar, personal communication[2]). Contact Malay varieties include both PDM and varieties of Malay which are clearly not from PDM, such as a colloquial Malay that is spoken in Jakarta.

Standard varieties, Malaysian in Malaysia and Indonesian in Indonesia, have long written traditions and exhibit rich morphology and complex syntactic operations, and fall in the category of Literary Malay. Vernacular Malay varieties are the native languages of people in Peninsular Malaysia, Sumatra, and the coastal areas of Borneo. They often show more complex phonology and morphology[3]. PDMs are found mainly in Eastern Indonesia, but also in West Indonesia, Malaysia, and Sri Lanka. PDMs are derived from a Malay variety which was historically used as a trade language in the archipelago. They are originally foreign to many of the areas where they are now spoken. They exhibit simpler phonology, morphology, and syntax and have been adopted as a regional common language by speakers of non-Malayic languages. In many such areas, these varieties, such as Kupang Malay, Manado Malay, and Larantuka Malay, have become the first language of many inhabitants. Vernacular Malays and PDMs are mostly used in private domains and traditionally have not been used as a written language.

In short, standard varieties of Malay are High varieties whereas Contact Malay (including PDMs) and Vernacular Malay varieties are Low varieties. The former has no native speakers and are closely associated with institutions of literacy. They are acquired through participation in these institutions and people are expected to use them in formal situations. The latter, on the other hand, is either acquired natively from early childhood or learned from day-to-day interactions and is used in informal, non-official situations. In the following description, I will use the term "colloquial Malays" to refer to both Vernacular Malays and Contact Malays.

In Indonesia there are more than 700 ethnic languages,[4] which comprise Malay varieties as well as other Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages. In Malaysia, in addition

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[2] I appreciate Alexander K. Adelaar's remarks on the varieties of Malay, which led me to revise this section.

[3] For a counterexample, to this, see Gil 2003.

[4] There are 722 language according to Ethnologue (https://www.ethnologue.com/, accessed December 31th, 2019).

to the indigenous languages of Borneo, there are various migrant languages such as Tamil and dialects of Chinese.

The multi-lingual situation in Malay-speaking communities can be divided into three principal categories. First, there are places in which a non-Malay dominant ethnic language is spoken, such as in Java where the majority of people speak either Javanese, Sundanese, or Madurese as their native language of everyday communication. Second, as in many places in Eastern Indonesia, a number of minority indigenous languages exist but none are dominant. Instead, a colloquial variety of pidgin-derived Malay is used as a regional common language. These types of Malay varieties are also found in larger urban areas which attract people from various ethnic backgrounds, such as Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur. Third, in many areas of Peninsular Malaysia and Western Indonesia, indigenous Malay varieties are spoken in day-to-day interactions. As a result of the government policy of educating citizens in standard varieties of Malay in both countries, almost all people have some fluency in a standard variety of Malay in all three types of multi-lingual community. Standard varieties of Malay are used as a medium of instruction at school, in religious practices, at official ceremonies, in broadcasting, and so on.

1.2 Address terms in Malay-speaking world

This paper examines address terms which occur pre-or post-utterance. An address term is defined as an adjunct which is not assigned a semantic role by the predicate (cf. Musgrave 2001) and which, under most circumstances, a speaker has the choice of whether or not to use it (cf. Kiesling 2009). Address terms are always used to refer to the addressee. They differ from person-referring expressions which are integrated into the syntactic structure of the sentence and are assigned a semantic role by the predicate (Stivers et al. 2007). Address terms consist of a personal name, a possessed kin term, or a pronoun, any of which are used to refer to the third party**.**

Therefore, *kamu* and *aku* in example (1) and *om saya* "my uncle" are regarded as person-referring expressions since they are assigned semantic roles by the predicate. On the other hand, *pak susanto* 'Mr. Susanto' in (3), which is followed by a pause, is categorized as adjunct because it can be omitted without affecting the clause structure.

(1)a. ***kamu*** *suka* *nonton* *film,* *film* *apa* *yang* *biasa* ***kamu*** *suka?*
2SG like watch film film what RL usually 2SG like

'You like to watch film, what (kind of) movies do you like?'

b. ***aku*** *suka* *nonton* *film* *yang* *aksion* *kalo* *nggak* *horor*
1SG like watch film RL action if not horror

'I like to watch action, if (it does not have elements of) horror.'
(Conversation between a female and male student. Recorded in Lampung, 2018)

(2) *baru* *waktu* *itu* *kita* *masih* *nae* *kapal* *di* *perusahan* *deng*
then time that 1SG still get.on boat LOC company with

om ***saya***
uncle 1SG

'Then, at that time, we used to get on the (fishing) boat of my uncle's company.'
(Monologue by a male speaker in his thirties from North Sulawesi. Recorded in Oarai, 2018)

(3)L1: *saya* *belum* *kenal* *ya,* *kita* *berkenalan* *di* *sini.*
1SG not.yet know yeah 1PL introduce.RCP LOC here

pak ***susanto,*** *sebagai* *apa* *di* *sini?*
Mr. Susanto as what LOC here

'I don't know (you), we introduce each other here. Pak Susanto, what do you do?'

S1: *saya* *guru* *di* *SD*
1SG teacher LOC elementary.school

'I am an elementary school teacher.'

L2: ***pak*** *sudah* *berapa* *lama* *di* *SD?*
Mr. already how long LOC elementary.school

'Mr, how long have you been (working) at elementary school?'
(Conversation between a female schoolteacher in her thirties and a male school teacher in his forties. Recorded in Lampung, 2018)

While there is a long tradition of treating both bound pronouns, and free forms such as titles and names as address terms (Brown and Gilman 1960, Brown and Levinson 1987, Djenar 2006, William-van Klinken and Hajek 2006, inter alia), this paper solely deals with adjunct address terms, excluding personal names and pronouns which are exclusively used for person reference. It is true that their usage has strong overlap with that of address terms, but that is beyond the scope of this paper. It is, however, necessary to refer to prior literature dealing with pronouns which are arguments of the predicate or are used for person reference. Sociolinguistic factors found in the literature for classifying address terms used as adjuncts are also discussed.

People living in Malaysia and Indonesia have a variety of religious, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, but their use of address terms appears to be rather uniform. Firstly, most address terms are originally kin terms, the exception being job titles and religious titles.[5] Secondly, people use address terms not only to attract the attention of the addressee, but also to show respectfulness and/or solidarity. Even when it is clear to the speaker that the addressee is listening to him/her, a speaker will often use the most proper address term at the beginning of an utterance. Words of greeting and minimal sentences such as *Ya* "Yes", which can be uttered alone, are frequently followed by an address term. As will be discussed subsequently, the most formal address terms are identical within a country: *Pak/Ibu* in Indonesia and *Tuan/Puan* in Malaysia. The less formal address terms, however, vary widely from region to region.

In European languages, "solidarity" and "equal or not" are the main factors for the selection of address terms, especially for bound pronouns (cf. Brown and Gilman 1960). In British English, for example, a speaker should consider age, generation, setting, kinship, closeness, social rank, dispensation, profession, and marital status (Laver 1981) when selecting an address term. In the Malay-speaking world, too, all the above factors are relevant, but abiding by social norms for showing respect or solidarity is the most

[5] There can be some more exceptions. Javanese *Tole/Nduk*, for example, are address terms that are used with young boys/girls which come from the terms for male/female genitals (Thomas J. Conners, personal communication).

important factor. Ethnicity is also a relevant factor in the choice of address terms. These are discussed in detail in section 3.

1.3 Methodology and Data

This paper is mainly based on the interviews which took place in Lampung, Kota Kinabalu, and Oarai in Japan from 2016 to 2019. The respondents are Malaysian and Indonesian from various ethnic backgrounds. The interviews were organized so as to specify the use of an address term; to whom (age, generation, gender, ethnicity, social status, etc.) and in what situation (in the market, at the bank, etc.). The interviewee was first asked to list address terms they use in everyday interaction. Then, the interviewer asked what terms would be used in specific situations such as "in a bank towards a staff", "in a municipal office towards an officer", "in a library towards a clerk", "at school towards a teacher", "at university towards professor", "towards a stranger in a bus", "towards a close friend at one's house", etc. The respondents were also asked where and to whom they use a specific address term. To supplement the interviews, naturalistic data, monologues, and free conversations recorded in Lampung, Manado, and Kota Kinabalu were also examined.

In Lampung, two females in their thirties, five people in their forties (four females and a male), two people in their fifties (a male and a female), two people in their seventies (a male and a female) were interviewed.

In Oarai, seven respondents (two males in their twenties, three females in their thirties and forties, two males in their fifties) gave information in detail, and fourteen other people gave brief comments.

In Kota Kinabalu, two male respondents in their forties gave detailed information. Two females in their twenties, a female in her forties, and a male in his twenties added several more pieces of information.

Data from Java mainly came from a single respondent in his forties, supplemented by information from the literature (especially Conners et al. 2016, Manns 2015, and Errington 1998).

Descriptions of address terms have been checked by five main consultants: Mr. Hendrik Paat for the data from North Sulawesi, Professor Obing Katubi for that from Java and Indonesia as a whole, Mr. Nelson Dino for that from Sandakan/Kota Kinabalu, Dr. Nurhasan Daniel for the data from Semporna, and Dr. Sri Budi Lestari for the data from Lampung.

2. Address terms and sociolinguistic factors

In sociolinguistic studies, social factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, social class, and religious identity should be taken into consideration when explaining the choice of language or variety in linguistically complex, multi-lingual societies. Also, in person-to-person interaction, one should bear in mind social dimensions such as social distance, status, formality, and the purpose and topic of an interaction. The selection of address terms, which are the best example of sociolinguistic indices (cf. Kiesling 2009), will be explained using these factors. Expressions for person reference, including kinship terms, titles, proper names, and pronouns, are also selected according to similar factors (Conners et al 2016). Many factors that are relevant to the selection of address terms have been suggested in the preceding literature. In the case of British English, Laver (1981) claims that age, generation, setting, kinship, closeness, social rank, dispensation, profession, and marital status are relevant. In their research of address terms in Dili

Tetum, East Timor, Williams-van Klinken and Hajek (2006) identify three main factors; "status", "formality", and "distance and solidarity". These factors, all of which are identifiable cross-culturally, are considered in the examination of address terms in Malay-speaking societies. However, for a productive discussion it is necessary to reorganize these factors into three distinctive groups instead of treating them in parallel.

First, closeness in Laver and distance and solidarity in Williams-van Klinken and Hajek refer to the interpersonal relationship between the interlocutors. Second, factors concerning the time and place in which the interaction takes place, such as the setting and dispensation suggested by Laver and the formality that is claimed by Williams-van Klinken and Hajek, will be dealt with in section 3, in which three domains of interaction: FORMAL, INTERMEDIATE, INFORMAL, are posited. Third, attributes of the addressee and the setting of the interaction will be discussed separately. Age, generation, kinship, rank, profession, marital status as suggested by Laver and "status" claimed by Williams-van Klinken are features attributable to the addressee; these factors will be investigated in section 4 and 5. Address terms are classified according to their lexical features in section 4, while in section 5 their classification according to the attributes of the addressee will be discussed.

3. Three domains of Language Use in the multi-lingual Malay world

3.1 Context, Framing and address terms

In studies of bound pronouns and lexical items which identify referents, the context in which the conversation occurs is considered a crucial factor (cf. Schegloff 1996).

Coupland (2007) provides the notion of "framing" which is adopted by Manns (2015) in his analysis of address terms in Indonesian youth in Malang. Framing, as Coupland puts it, is "crucially involved in determining how particular identities are made relevant or *salient* in discourse", and has three levels. Socio-cultural framing is the macro-level social frame in which "acts of identity are undertaken by speakers positioning themselves, or others, in relation to a pre-understood social ecology". In genre framing, the meso-level social frame, "generic frames set meaning parameters around talk in relation to what contextual type or genre of talk … is understood by participants to be currently on-going and relevant (e.g. business talk, informal chat)". Interpersonal framing, the micro-level social frame, captures "how participants dynamically structure the very local business of their talk and position themselves relative to each other in their relational histories, short- and long-term".

This three-way distinction has its own value, particularly when analyzing usage in discourse, as shown in Manns (2015). Interpersonal framing resembles what I will classify as an INFORMAL domain in section 3.2, and appears useful for the purpose of this paper. However, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate socio-cultural framing from genre-framing. For example, a religious practice situation can be categorized both as socio-cultural and genre framing.

Linguistic consultants of this survey explained the use of address terms by providing a hypothetical addressee and a specific situation. In many cases, they select the most appropriate term when they are given the attributes of an addressee (such as age and gender), and a situation (such as "at the bank", "in the market").

Here is one example of comment from a respondent recorded in an Indonesian community in Oarai, Japan. In the following Example (4), the speaker T is an

interviewer and the speaker B is a female respondent from North Sulawesi in her forties. The interview was done in theManado dialect of Indonesian.

(4)

T: Supir taksi gitu?	T: Taxi driver like that?
I: Panggil "Bapak" biasanya.	I: I usually call him *Bapak*.
T: Berapa umurnya?	T: How old is (the driver)?
I: Semua supir taksi kita panggil "Bapak". Heeh biasanya gitu.	I: I call all the drivers *Bapak*. It is usually like that.
T: Itu karena?	T: Why is that?
I: Hmm nggak tau ya, kebiasaan aja ya, "Pak sopir, Pak sopir gitu, iyo". Umur berapa aja biasanya gitu. Hmm kalo mau lebih spesifik mungkin kita juga lia orangnya, kalo 40an tahun ke atas, kita panggil Pak tapi kalo kayaknya masih muda, panggil Dek.	I: Hmm, I don't know, it's just normal to say "*Pak* driver, *pak* driver like that, yes". Whatever the age, it is usually like that. Hmm when I want to call more carefully, I look at the person, when he is in his forties or older, I call him *Pak*, but if he looks younger, call him *Dek*.

Similar comments were given from respondents from other regions, too. A taxi driver is usually addressed *pak* irrespective of his age, but there is also a chance of using other kin terms for younger people if the driver looks younger than forty.

During the interview, respondents frequently used the Indonesian/Malaysian word *sopan* "respectfulness" and *hormat* "respect", so "respectfulness" is used as one of the key notions in classifying the settings.

A straightforward method is to classify familiar settings into the three domains discussed in section 3.2 and describe the use of address terms with respect to each domain.

3.2 Three domains of Language use in the multi-lingual Malay world

It appears that a simple dichotomy such as formal vs informal or public vs private fails to grasp the situation in Malay-speaking communities. It is necessary to distinguish at least three social domains of language use for understanding the linguistic situation of the Malay-speaking world according to the following three factors: publicness, respectfulness, and intimacy. In the following discussion, I will use +/–public, +/–respectful, and +/–intimate to distinguish the three domains.

The first domain of language use is labeled as FORMAL from this point on. It is defined as +public, +respectful, and –intimate. Religious practices, official ceremonies, and broadcasting are typical situations that belong to the FORMAL domain. A speaker should respect the addressee's social status; and socio-cultural rules should be observed. She or he does not have a choice with regard to the selection of a language variety or a linguistic form since there is minimal room for negotiating the closeness between the two interlocutors under FORMAL circumstances. In addition to typical formal settings such as broadcasting, religious practices and ceremonies, conversations taking place in banks, municipal government offices, police stations, or the offices of a large company are regarded as formal.

The second domain is INFORMAL. This is the opposite of the FORMAL domain as it is –public, –respectful, and +intimate. One should abide by the socio-cultural rules to show intimacy. Interactions between close friends, neighbors in a small community, and between family members are typical cases of INFORMAL language use. It is also not very common that a speaker has choices of a language variety or a linguistic form. The participants of these conversations have known one another for a reasonably long time, so a language variety or a linguistic form that shows maximum closeness should be selected.

The third domain is INTERMEDIATE. It is +public, –respectful, +/–intimate. It is indeterminate with regards to intimacy; showing intimacy is not expected, but speakers can show it through the choice of language they use. Informal public situations are found in interactions that occur in markets and shops, restaurants, and on public transport. Speakers who are involved in an INTERMEDIATE interaction are typically strangers to one another, with no idea of the social status of their conversation partner. After several exchanges of utterances, participants of the conversation can shift a language variety or a linguistic form in order to show their willingness to be closer: that is, intimacy can be shown or not shown in this domain. Other instances of INTERMEDIATE domain are at educational settings; especially in a classroom at tertiary educational institution. In this setting, the interlocutors may know each other to a certain extent, but they are not expected to show closeness.

The choice of language variety by people in the Malay-speaking world is essentially achieved according to the three above-mentioned domains. Standard varieties of Malay are predominantly selected in the FORMAL domain. Exceptional cases can be observed in ethnic languages that have an established honorific system, such as Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese. The high style of these languages may be used in religious practices or wedding ceremonies. In recent years, however, standard varieties of Malay have greater potential to replace high-style ethnic language varieties in the FORMAL domain. The choice of language is most limited in this FORMAL domain; people should select either a standard variety of Malay or a high style of an ethnic language which has an established honorific system.

In the INFORMAL domain, however, language choices may vary from person to person and from place to place. A speaker's first language will be selected in most instances, but a regional common language is also an option. It may be a non-Malayic indigenous language, a migrant language,[6] an indigenous Malay, or a pidgin-derived Malay. The INFORMAL domain has the widest variety of language use. As noted earlier, there is no publicness in the INFORMAL domain, no respectfulness expected, but showing intimacy is the norm. By using the first language of the addressee, which can also be the first language of the speaker in a family or a small community, the speaker can show solidarity and intimacy.

The number of languages that can be used in the INTERMEDIATE domain are greater than in the FORMAL domain, but less than in the INFORMAL domain. Ethnic languages which have a limited number of speakers will not be selected; instead a common regional language will be the first option, which naturally varies from place to place. A colloquial variety of Malay or a dominant ethnic language in the region are

[6] I use 'a migrant language' to refer to a language spoken by a community from outside the region. Examples of migrant languages are: Batak and Balinese spoken in Jakarta, and Javanese spoken in Lampung, Sumatra.

most likely to be selected. For example, in West Java, where the dominant ethnic group is Sundanese, either Sundanese or a colloquial variety of Indonesian is used in this domain (Ewing, this volume). In North Sulawesi, where eleven ethnic languages are spoken primarily by elderly people, the first option will be Manado Malay, a regional colloquial variety of Malay. In Kota Kinabalu where many ethnic groups are found, Sabah Malay is the most likely to be selected.

The three domains above do not always result in clear-cut distinctions. Some people regard class discussion in a college as a FORMAL situation. As a matter of fact, students are expected to use a standard variety of Malay at tertiary education level, but a regional common language is often used even in class discussion (cf. Errington 2014). This situation, when compared with religious practice, should be viewed as less formal, because in the latter situation a local variety of Malay will not be used. In this paper, I categorize class discussion at college as INTERMEDIATE, but there are many cases that fall in either of the two adjacent domains depending on the perspective of the observer. However, it is necessary to simplify the domains of language use in order to describe the choice of language and address terms in a straightforward way. Table 1 illustrates the typical language choices in the Malay-speaking world.

There is also the problem of how to deal with code-mixing. As modernization and urbanization proceed more rapidly in recent years in Indonesia, middle-class people frequently mix a colloquial variety of Malay with standard Indonesian, which "creates a way of talking that is socially *intermediary*" (Errington 2014). This type of code mixing occurs mostly in the INTERMEDIATE domain, but in multi-lingual societies it can happen in the other domains as well: quite as often in the INFORMAL domain but less frequently in the FORMAL domain.

In the following discussion, the above three domains will be used to classify address terms that are used in Malay-speaking world.

Table 1. Typical language choices in the Malay-speaking world

Domain	Setting	Choice of language	Features
FORMAL **+respectful** **+public** **–intimate**	Ceremonies, Religious practices, Broadcasting	**STANDARD VARIETY** of Malay/Indonesian	**Do not vary Least choice, mostly only one**
INTERMEDIATE **–respectful** **+public** **+/–intimate**	Shops, Market, Restaurants, Public transportation, Elementary/Secondary schools	**REGIONAL COMMON LANGUAGE** Colloquial variety of Malay or Regionally vigorous ethnic language	**Varies from region to region** In some areas, only one choice is possible which is a colloquial variety of Malay. In other areas, a choice between a colloquial variety of Malay and an ethnic language of the majority of the people in the region **Plural choices, one to several**

INFORMAL **−respectful** **−public** **+intimate**	Everyday interaction in a community or home situation	A variety of ethnic languages, local variety of Malay	**Varies from community to community, family to family** **Most choices, as many as the number of languages /varieties**

4. Classification of Address terms in the Malay-speaking world

4.1 Kin terms

Most of the address terms found in the Malay-speaking world are kin terms, as shown in Errington (1998), Manns (2015), Conners et al. (2016), among others. In Malay-speaking communities, it is essentially possible to use any kin term for addressing someone with no blood relation at all. The most formal terms that are used in Indonesia are *Bapak* for male and *Ibu* for female, which are frequently abbreviated as *Pak* and *Bu*. They originally mean "father" and "mother" in Javanese, but now they are regarded as Indonesian words (Manns 2015). There are numerous other terms. *Kakak*, and *Adik*, which are Indonesian words meaning "older sibling" and "younger sibling" respectively, are also used for people older or younger relative to the speaker's age. Utilization of those terms, however, varies from place to place. *Bapak/Pak* and *Ibu/Bu* are not used in Malaysia as formal address terms. *Kakak* is restricted to use towards a female in most places in Sumatra and Sabah, whereas it can be used towards both genders in other areas such as North Sulawesi, NTT and Papua as well as among Suluk, Iranun and Kadazan peoples in Sabah.

In the Malay-speaking world, the use of kin terms for non-kin is extremely widespread. Not only standard varieties of Malay, but also ethnic languages as well as European languages provide kin terms for addressing. For example, *Bro* (from English "brother") and *Sis* (from English "sister") have become very common terms among younger generations all over Malaysia and Indonesia. *Abi* "father" and *Umi* "mother" are loan words from Arabic which are often used in pious Muslim families. *Om* (towards a male) and *Tante* (towards a female), which derive from the Dutch words meaning "uncle" and "aunt" respectively, are predominantly used for addressing an adult (typically married) in North Sulawesi and Papua. *Abah* "grandfather", *Nini* "grandmother", *Akang* "older brother", and *Teteh* "older sister" are Sundanese terms which are used in Western Indonesia. The Minangkabau language provides *Uda* "older brother" and *Uni* "older sister" as terms of address in Sumatra, especially in Padang, though they are in principle restricted to use with Minangkabau people. There are numerous other examples which will be dealt with in section 7. At home, people predominantly use kin terms of their own ethnic language. Kin terms meaning older/younger sibling are most frequently used between siblings and close relatives, but also between husband and wife, in which case a husband is addressed by a term for "big sibling (*Kak* in Indonesia)" and a wife by a term for "younger sibling (*Dik* in Indonesia)". The abundance of regionally used ethnic kin terms is explained by their extended usage from the INFORMAL domain (within family) into the INTERMEDIATE domain (in a community).

4.2 Job titles and social rank

Occupational terms are also frequently used as address terms. In Indonesia, most of these terms are modified by *Pak/Ibu*, the most formal address terms in Indonesia, for instance *Pak guru* "father teacher" or *Ibu dosen* "mother lecturer". Official government

positions such as *Lurah* "village chief", *Kades* (shortened form from *kepala desa* "village mayor"), *Camat* "district mayor", and *Bupati* "governor" also require *Pak/Ibu* to be present when used to address someone.[7] In Malaysia, *Tuan* and *Puan*, the most formal address terms, can be combined with job titles, such as *Tuan Presiden*. A teacher in any age group is commonly called *Cikgu*, a form that consists of *Encik* or *Cik* (respectful titles for relatively young people) and *Guru* "teacher".

There are, however, relatively few occupational titles which may be used in isolation. *Dok* (from *dokter* "medical doctor"[8]), *Sus* (from *suster* "(female) nurse"), and *Prof* (from *profesor* "professor") are examples of such terms in Indonesia. **Pak Dok* or *Ibu Sus* are not regarded as appropriate. However, *Doktor* may be used with *Tuan/Puan* "Sir/Madan" in Malaysia, for instance *Tuan Doktor*. Not all job titles are used as an address term: *Pensyarah* "lecturer" is not used as an address term either in Indonesia or Malaysia.

In Javanese society, *Raden*, which is a title for noble people who have some kind of relation with the *Keraton* "palace", is still used, in combination with kin terms such as *Raden Mas* "Noble big brother" or *Raden Ajeng/Raden Ayu* "Noble big sister".

Table 2 provides additional examples of job titles and religious titles which are used for addressing people in Indonesia.

Table 2. List of job titles and religious titles used as address terms in Indonesia[9]

	Used with *Pak/Ibu*	Used in isolation
Job titles	*Lurah* "village chief *Kepala Desa (Kades)* "Village Chief *Camat* "Head of District" *Bupati* "Regent" *Gubernur* "Governor" *Mentri* "Minister" *Deputy* "Deputy" *Presiden* "President" *Guru* "Teacher" *Kapus* from *Kepala Pusat Penelitian* "Head of Research Center") *Rektor* "Rector" *Sekjen* from *Sekretaris Jenderal* "General Secretary") *Dirjen* from *Directur Jendral* "General Director"	*Prof* "Professor" *Dok* "Medical Doctor" *Docter* "Medical Doctor" *Sus* "Nurse"
Religious titles	*Pendeta* "Pastor" *Haji/Hajah* title for someone who has	*Romo* "Catholic Father" *Gus* title for a son of a great

[7] As a person reference, *Pak/Bu* is not necessary. Person references and address terms show differences with respect to the presence of *Pak/Bu*.

[8] In Indonesian, *Doktor* means academic doctorate holder, and *Dokter* medical doctor. *Dok* as an address term is used towards a "medical doctor", not for an "academic doctor". In Malaysia, *Doktor* is used to mean both a medical doctor and an academic doctor.

[9] When two address terms are written together, forms on the left represent males while those on the right refer to females.

	been to pilgrimage to Mecca *Ustaz/Ustazah* (*Ustad/Ustadza)* title for someone who has an honorable knowledge/practices of Islam *Kyai* title for Islamic leader	*Kyai*

4.3 Religious titles

Lexical items for religious titles are also often used to address people, but similarly to job titles, some of these terms should have *Pak/Ibu* occurring before them, while others are not required to.

Among people who practice Islam, in Indonesia, a pious person will be called *Pak Ustaz* "father religious leader" or *Bu Ustazah* "mother religious leader". In Malaysia, *Ustaz/Ustazah* are the titles for people who have passed a religious examination. Muslim religious leaders will be called *Pak Kyai*, and in the Nahdatul Ulama tradition, their son, may be called by *Gus* + personal name.[10] *Gus* is derived from the Javanese word *bagus* "handsome" used for high class men. People who have made the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca are entitled to be called *Pak Haji* "father Haji" or *Bu Hajah* "mother Hajah".

In protestant communities in Indonesia, a religious leader, *pendeta* "pastor", is addressed as *Pak Pendeta* (male) or *Bu Pendeta* (female).

A catholic term for "Father", *Romo*, is used without *Bapak* or *Pak*. This appears to be the only example of a religious title which can be used without *Pak* in Indonesia.[11]

4.4 Address terms and personal names

The combination of an address term and a personal name is possible in most situations. Every kin term may be followed by a personal name, if it is the name of a person who does not have a blood relation to a speaker, such as *Paman Ali* "uncle Ali". When a speaker addresses one's biological parents and grandparents, however, it is not possible to put a personal name after an address term. Terms denoting aunt, uncle, or sibling, on the other hand, are able to be followed by the name of a person who has a biological relation to the speaker. This contrast is presumably due to the fact that there are always several options for a person who is referenced by the latter term, whereas there is little room for options with the former.

In Indonesia, job titles which require *Pak/Ibu* to be placed before them generally do not allow personal names; **Pak Guru Ali* "father teacher Ali" is not considered appropriate. When a speaker wants to address a teacher, job or religious titles are omitted, leaving just *Pak/Bu* + a personal name. Nonetheless, there are some exceptions. In Indonesia, *Dok*, the abbreviation of *Dokter* "medical doctor", may not be followed by a personal name, but *Dokter* can be accompanied by one, as in *Selamat pagi, Dokter Hendra* "Good morning Doctor Hendra".

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[10] One such example is *Gus Dur*, a popular nickname which is nationally used to refer to Abdurrahman Wahid, the fourth President of the Republic of Indonesia.

[11] This might be due to the fact that *ramo* is derived from the Javanese term *rama*, which means "father" (Thomas J. Conners: personal communication).

In Kota Kinabalu, *Guru* "teacher"**,** a simple title for a teacher is used by school children. If they want to add a name, it may be placed after *Cikgu* "Mr./Ms. + teacher". When a personal name is added after *Guru*, it does not refer to a teacher at school but rather an instructor of sports, cooking, etc. This is an example of signaling a specific occupation by combining a title and a personal name, which varies from region to region and is sometimes not predictable.

Haji, *Haja*, *Ustaz*, and *Ustazah* (Islamic titles) are among those titles which may accompany a personal name in addition to *Pak/Bu*, for example *Pak Haji Ali*. *Kyai* "Islam expert (Javanese)" is also accompanied by a personal name, as in the case of *Pak Kyai Ma'ruf Amin*.[12] *Pendeta* "pastor" and *Romo* "catholic father" may be followed by a personal name, such as *Bu Pendeta Cynthia* "mother pastor Cynthia" and *Romo Katubi* "Father Katubi".

4.5 Personal names as terms of address

Personal names also have an important role as terms of address in the Malay-speaking world. In multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies in Indonesia or Malaysia, personal names are also widely diverse. In most areas, people do not have a family name. Some people have only one given name, and no family name or title, like *Soekarno* and *Soeharto*. Others have more than one given name, like *Joko Widodo* and *Luna Maya Sugeng*.[13] Some ethnic groups, including the Balinese and Javanese, may include titles in their name, thereby showing their rank. The Balinese are also famous for including a name which shows the order of birth in a family.[14] In some areas of Nusa Tenggara Timur (henceforth NTT), people often have their clan (or lineage) name following their given name.

Although the components of a personal name vary widely from place to place and from religious group to religious group, it is normally one of their given names or a nickname[15] which is used. So, while *Pak Guru Kamaleng* sounds strange, *Pak Guru Andmesh* is suitable.

Nicknames are also a very common address form. In some cases, one's family gives a nickname or a youth name to a child, but in other cases, it is his/her friends that provide this nickname. Nicknames may be added after kin terms or job/religious titles instead of his/her "real" given name.

Most kin terms may accompany a given or a nickname, and by adding them, a speaker demonstrates closeness/intimacy. Despite this, it is not always possible to add a personal name to *Adik/Dik/De* "younger sibling" or *Nak*, which is derived from *anak*

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[12] A Vice President of Indonesia in 2019.

[13] An Indonesian actress and singer.

[14] In Balinese tradition, a boy's name has an initial *I-*, and a girl's name has an initial *Ni-*. Also, there is a well-known naming system in which the first name of a child shows the order of birth in the family: for example, *Wayan* for the first child, *Made* for the second, *Nyoman* or *Komang* for the third, *Ketut* for the fourth. There are several other options for each of the above, and names that indicate one's social class may also be included.

[15] One is given a nickname which is a shortened form of one's given name, *Pas* from *Pasco* (pronounced [pasko]) and *Tari* from *Lestari*. Sometimes non-Malayic phoneme is replaced by Malayic one, such as *Pai* from *Rifai*. It is often the case that a form totally unrelated to one's given name becomes one's nickname.

"child".[16] If the name of an addressee who is younger than a speaker is known, it is normally this name which is used. Thus, adding a personal name to these terms for the purpose of differentiating from other possible *Adik*s or *Nak*s does not make sense.

Within a family, it is the norm for a younger member to use a kin term towards an older member, but if the latter addresses the former, a personal name or a nickname is more common.

5. Features of an addressee which are relevant to the selection of address terms

As demonstrated earlier in section 2, many factors including age, generation, setting, kinship, closeness, social rank, dispensation, profession, and marital status are relevant in the selection of address terms (Laver 1981, for British English). It is, however, possible to reorganize the above factors and divide them into two major categories which are the attributes of an addressee and the social setting.

The four relevant attributes of an addressee in the selection of address terms are social status, age/generation, gender, and ethnicity. Also relevant are the setting/register, style, and closeness between the participants, all of which will be described by the three domains that have been introduced in section 3; FORMAL, INTERMEDIATE and INFORMAL. The four relevant features of an addressee will also be discussed in this section.

5.1 Social status

In this paper, the term "social status" is used to designate a notion that includes both profession/occupation and social rank. There are a variety of job titles used for addressing people, as outlined in section 4.2. Doctors, nurses, and teachers/professors are all likely to be addressed by their job titles, even outside a professional context: a speaker can address someone whose occupation is a teacher as *Pak Guru* "father teacher" in Indonesia and *Cikgu* "Mr/Mrs + *guru* 'teacher'" in Malaysia, even when his or her children are not taught by that person. Religious titles, as shown in 4.1.3, are also used by someone who does not have any religious contact with the addressee, although it might be uncomfortable for a speaker of a different belief system to use these address terms. In the selection of these job/religious titles, normally age or generation is irrelevant: people of all age groups may be addressed in this way with the exception of very young people who are very unlikely to have any of these titles.

The above description indicates that the addressee's profession is an important factor for selecting a term of address in the Malay-speaking world. Also supporting this is the fact that kinship address terms are sensitive to it. There were many respondents who claimed to use different forms depending on the addressee's occupation, regardless of age. For example, someone in their twenties will usually be addressed by terms for younger people like *Mas/Mbak* in Java and *Abang/Kakak* in Sumatra. However, when someone in his/her twenties is working as a white-collar worker, a police officer, or a staff member at a library, he or she is most likely to be addressed by *Pak/Bu,* the most formal term in Indonesia. Some respondents in Lampung, Indonesia, explained that someone in their forties can still be called by *Mas* "older brother"*/Mbak* "older sister" in a restaurant or a *warung* (small shop or a simple restaurant), whereas the most adequate

[16] However, there is a comment from a Javanese researcher, Obing Katubi, that it is possible to add a name after *Dik* in Javanese culture.

terms for the same person in other settings are *Pak* "father"/*Ibu* "mother" (Lestari, 2018).

5.2 Age and generation

In this paper, I use "age" as an absolute term, and "generation" as a relative term; the latter is used to denote an age difference from the perspective of a speaker. Certain kin terms which are used in the INTERMEDIATE domain are sensitive to this generational difference. For example, in Sumatra, it is possible to use *Abang/Kakak* "older brother/sister" for someone several years older than a speaker in any age group; an addressee can be in his/her twenties or fifties if a speaker is younger than him/her. *Dik,* which is shortened form of *adik* "younger sibling", has similar usage in many places. In the FORMAL domain, however, speakers predominantly use the most respectful forms (*Bapak/Ibu* in Indonesia and *Tuan/Puan* in Malaysia).

However, most terms of address are relevant to "age", not "generation". *Nak*, a shortened term of *anak* "child" is used towards young children. It is normally not possible to use this towards someone in their twenties, and impossible towards someone in their thirties or above. In NTT, *Bai* "grandfather" and *Nene* "grandmother" are used towards people in their sixties or older if the addressee is not a blood relation; and of course, it is always possible to use these terms if the addressee is one's own grandfather or grandmother. In many instances, the factors of "age" and "generation" are not easy to separate, so in the following discussion they will be indicated together as age/generation.

We differentiate between four age groups with respect to age/generation in the Malay-speaking world: young children, young adults, middle-aged adults, and elders. The youngest group consists of young children and sometimes includes teenagers. *Dik* "younger sibling" and *Nak* "child" are among the most common address terms for this age group. These terms are naturally used primarily in the INFORMAL and INTERMEDIATE domains because young children are not supposed to be addressed in formal settings.

The most used terms belong to either of the two following age groups; young adults or middle-aged adults. The marital status of the addressee is as important as his/her age when selecting an address term from either of these groups. Terms for young adults are associated with being single and those for middle-aged adults are associated with being married. For example, a friend of mine in her early twenties in North Sulawesi once told me that "they call me *Nona*, but actually I'm *Tanta.*" *Nona* is a term for young adults and *Tanta* is for middle-aged adults. People who do not know her well choose *Nona*, but in fact she is married and has a child, so regards *Tanta* as a more appropriate address term. The terms for these two age groups are the most frequently used of all three domains.

In Malaysia, *Encik* (male) and *Cik* (female) are the terms for young adults. *Tuan* (male) and *Puan* (female) are those for middle-aged adults. All these terms are used in the FORMAL and INTERMEDIATE domains. In Indonesia, terms for middle-aged adults that are used in the FORMAL domain are quite consistent across the archipelago, these being *Pak* (male) and *Ibu* (female). In INTERMEDIATE and INFORMAL domains, however, there are regional variations. *Paman/Bibi* "uncle/aunt" are used in many places in Indonesia and are very commonly used in Java, but *Om/Tanta* "uncle/aunt (Dutch words)" are used in North Sulawesi, Ambon, NTT, and Papua. *Besa/Usi* "uncle/aunt" are used in Kupang and some places in NTT. *Pace/Mace* are used in Papua, and traditionally are considered to have low prestige, but now they have become very

common terms to which regional pride is attached. *Bapa/Mama* "father/mother" are also used in this area as more polite forms.

Terms for young adults differ from place to place: *Mas/Mbak* "older brother/sister" in Javanese speaking regions, *Akang/Teteh* "older brother/sister" in Sundanese speaking regions, *Nyong/Nona* "unmarried man/woman" and *Cowok/Cewek* "boy/girl" in North Sulawesi, *Jang/Cil* "unmarried man/woman" in Kalimantan, and *Abang/Kakak* "big brother/older sibling" in many places in Sumatra. The first pair, *Mas/Mbak* is the most widely used in Indonesia. The Javanese are the largest ethnic group in Indonesia and many have migrated to every corner of the archipelago. Their language has had a tremendous influence in forming colloquial Indonesian, as well as on the Jakarta variety of Indonesian. This pair is used not only in Java but also in Sumatra and Kalimantan.

Even though people avoid using terms for young adults, instead using those for middle-aged adults in the FORMAL domain, the former terms are not considered disrespectful. Respondents unequivocally told me that a speaker can show respect by using them.

The line between the above two age groups is sometimes difficult to draw because it may change according to the setting and the region. In general, the line is drawn somewhere between the ages of 30 to 40 years old in the INTERMEDIATE domain, but in the FORMAL domain it is somewhere in the early twenties.

The fourth age group consists of people who are considered to have grandchildren, although young grandparents who are in their thirties or forties are not normally included in this group. Address terms for this elderly age group are mainly used in the INFORMAL domain.

5.3 Gender

Gender is almost always relevant in the selection of an address term. As mentioned in sections 4.2 and 4.3, job titles and religious titles that are inherently genderless are often preceded by a kin term which displays gender. There are, however, truly genderless terms: *Dok* "doctor" and *Prof* "professor" are among them. Given the same age group and the same setting, a male/female pair of address terms have a similar structure; *Pak Pendeta* "father pastor" and *Ibu Pendeta* "mother pastor", the terms used in North Sulawesi, both have two titles combined, and *Tuan* "sir" and *Puan* "madam" in Malaysia have similar phonetic structure and both consist of a single morpheme. A deviation to this rule is the pair *Mner* "(male) professor" and *Ibu Dosen* "female professor (*lit.* mother professor)" in North Sulawesi. People from this region have explained that the former is reserved for a male professor, while the latter should be used for a female professor. As shown in the previous section, most terms which are used according to age demographics also occur in pairs.

Gender is not relevant for two groups of address terms. Firstly, a small number are used for both male and female referents, *Prof* "professor", *Cikgu* "Mr./Mrs +Teacher", *Dok* among them. Secondly, terms for young children are normally not differentiated according to gender; *Nak* "child" and *Dik*, or *De* (from *adik* "younger sibling"). Although most genderless address terms fall in one of the above two categories, exceptions are found in the address terms for elderly people: *Eyang*[17] in Javanese-

[17] In Javanese, "Grandfather" and "grandmother" for referencing people are differentiated by gender. In a high-class Javanese family, "grandfather" is *eyang kakung*, and "grandfather" is *eyang putri*. However, as a term of address, only *Eyang* is used.

speaking communities, and *Moyong* in Brunei Malay communities may be used for both grandparents, and sometimes for elderly people of no blood relation. The second exception is *Kakak(Kak)*, which can be used regardless of gender, towards young adults, as in Suluk communities in Sabah.

5.4 Ethnicity

In the FORMAL domain, the choice of address term is not affected by the ethnicity of the addressee. As shown above, *Pak/Bu* is the first option in Indonesia and *Tuan/Puan* or *Encik/Cik* is used in Malaysia. In the INTERMEDIATE and INFORMAL domains, on the other hand, ethnicity plays a substantial role. In an attempt to show intimacy, a speaker may choose to use a term from the addressee's ethnic language. A middle-aged Javanese person who was brought up in Lampung, commented as follows:[18]

> After [someone you are talking to] answers, we know "oh, this is his language", and his dialect reveals his ethnicity, so we have to shift to a different address term. But at first, we have to address her/him using *Mbak* or *Mas*, and if she or he answers in Padang dialect, I feel a need to call her/him by *Uda* or *Uni*.

Lampung is a multi-ethnic city of which 64% of its population are migrants, the majority of whom are Javanese. People have migrated from other areas of Sumatra as well, including Padang, Palembang, Jambi, and Bali. Lampung people who are original inhabitants comprise only 13% of the population (BPS Lampung 2013). In this multi-ethnic setting, choosing an address term from the addressee's ethnic language is one of the ways to show intimacy. It can show familiarity and closeness towards the addressee.

Exactly the same phenomenon is observed in other parts of Indonesia and Malaysia, details of which will be provided in section 6. It should be noted that people living in multi-ethnic communities are knowledgeable of the address terms in several languages even if they have little knowledge of other aspects of those languages. This shows how uses of multiple ethnic address terms is an important strategy for communication in multi-ethnic societies.

Chinese descendants form an extremely large ethnic group in Malaysia where they constitute a quarter of the population. They constitute only five percent of the population in Indonesia. In many places, they are called *Koh* (male) and *Cik* (female) irrespective of their age/generation. *Koh/Cik* are most often found in the INTERMEDIATE domain, used by non-Chinese to Chinese people.

Foreign people are often called by terms of address that are borrowed from English; *Mister* towards men and *Mis*[19] towards women, regardless of the addressee's marital status. *Mister/Mis* are mostly found in the INTERMEDIATE domain, but they are also not unusual in the FORMAL domain.

To conclude, the FORMAL domain does not exhibit a large amount of variation in address terms with regard to ethnicity, but the INTERMEDIATE and INFORMAL domains display many variations. A speaker in a multi-ethnic society learns address

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[18] The original quote is as follows: "*Nanti kan setelah dia jawab, kita tahu, oh bahasanya ini kan, logatnya seperti orang ini, berarti kita alihkan ke panggilan yg lain, gitu. Cuma untuk pertama kali manggilnya ya saya manggil Mbak apa Mas, nah ternyata dia jawabnya dengan logat bahasa Padang, saya perlu panggil Uda atau Uni"* (Pak Nur, 50 years old), Lestari 2018.

[19] In Kota Kinabalu, *Mis* is also used towards local woman.

terms from other ethnic languages in the course of his/her life and is frequently trying to detect an addressee's ethnicity from his/her accent so as to select a proper ethnic address term in order to show closeness.

6. Domains and address terms

Address terms are used differently according to the situation or the setting in which the interaction between interlocutors occurs. For example, a man in his fifties who teaches at elementary school in Kota Kinabalu is addressed as *Cikgu* "Mr/Ms teacher" by pupils, but *Tuan* "Sir" at a wedding ceremony by another participant who does not know him. He would probably be called *Bang* "big brother" + a personal name by a neighbor who is ten years younger than him and who has known him for a long time. The relationship between the interlocutors undoubtedly affects the selection, as does the domain of the interaction. In this section, variations in the selection of address terms according to domains are discussed.

6.1 Address terms in the FORMAL domain

Participants in the FORMAL domain are restricted to adults, so address terms towards young children are excluded.[20] In this domain, interlocutors are not in a close relationship, or at least not supposed to behave as close friends.

In Malaysia, *Tuan* "Sir" and *Puan* "Madam" are the safest choice, but *Encik* "Mr." and *Cik* "Ms" are also used. *Tuan* and *Puan* are in principle used towards married people, whereas *Encik* and *Cik* are usually for unmarried people. In reality, however, those terms are used interchangeably on many occasions. Police officers are normally addressed by *Encik*, but a higher rank officer may be called *Tuan*. As shown in 6.2, age/generation is the primary factor for selection, but professional rank is also relevant.

In Indonesia, the most appropriate address terms are *Bapak* or its shorter form *Pak* "father", and *Ibu* or its shorter form *Bu* "mother". Some people think the abbreviated forms are less respectful (Errington 1998:85), but they can be interchangeably used in many cases. These terms, as many others, have Javanese origin, but they are regarded as standard Indonesian terms (Errington 1998:83–88).[21] Younger people, say, in their twenties, are still called *Pak/Ibu* in this domain, for instance when someone calls an office they use *Pak/Bu* as the address term, despite their interlocutor's appearance being unknown. A variety of other forms of address are not favored in this FORMAL domain. In universities, even younger lecturers are expected to be called *Pak/Bu.*[22] A professor may also be addressed in the same way, but also addressed as *Pak/Bu Dosen* "father/mother lecturer" or *Prof*.

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[20] Of course, in ceremonies such as weddings, small children may participate and be addressed by *Dik* or *Nak*. But the style and content of interaction with them does not display formal characteristics. This is why I avoid discussing terms for young children here.

[21] *Bapak* has been used broadly in prenational Java, and very commonly used together with other titles of royal decent and office, in which case respectfulness can be conveyed (Errington 1998:85). This usage is also very common throughout Indonesia as we see in section 4.2 and 4.3. Errington points out that using *Bapak* alone can be less respectful in Javanese society, however, not a single respondent of this survey commented so. *Ibu*, on the other hand, "was highly and unambiguously honorific usage in prenational Java, normatively reserved for first wives of the highest-ranking *priyayi* men" (*ibid*, 85–86).

[22] Exceptions are found in Universitas Indonesia (University of Indonesia) where younger lecturers in their twenties are called *Mas/Mbak* (Obing Katubi, personal communication). This usage may become more common in other universities in Indonesia as well.

Other job titles and religious titles are also in use in this domain, although only if a speaker knows the addressee's professional or religious status. Between strangers, of course, it is not possible to use them. By contrast, other kin terms that originally mean "uncle/aunt", "older/younger sibling", or "child", are strongly avoided.

To summarize, address terms denoting higher social rank in standard varieties of Malay can be used in the FORMAL domain. Showing respectfulness is at work, but there is no need to consider showing intimacy.

6.2 Address terms in the INTERMEDIATE domain

As shown in sections 4 and 5, there are abundant choices of address terms in the INTERMEDIATE domain, which is defined as +public, –respectful, +/–intimate.

Unlike the FORMAL domain where address terms are homogeneous, they vary from region to region in the INTERMEDIATE domain, as with kin terms which are the most commonly used. In addition to kin terms, job titles and religious titles are also possible. Interaction between strangers often occurs in restaurants, shops and public transport. At first, a speaker will normally select regionally-shared kin terms that can show respect. When the interpersonal relationship is ongoing a speaker begins to have choices. By demonstrating knowledge of the addressee's occupational and religious status, a speaker can show closeness with the addressee. In the FORMAL domain, job and religious titles are employed to show respectfulness: keeping distance and showing respect. In the INTERMEDIATE domain, they can show both respect and closeness at the same time. In addition, kin terms from smaller ethnic groups or minorities in the region can show closeness towards the addressee. It is very awkward to use a kin term which is not from the addressee's ethnic language, so speakers prefer to use a regionally shared form at the first encounter, but when a speaker is sure about the addressee's ethnic identity, she or he can safely switch to ethnic kin terms.

The greatest choice of kin terms is possible in the INTERMEDIATE domain, where most inter-ethnic interactions occur. In North Sulawesi, for example, there are eleven indigenous ethnic groups in addition to various other ethnic groups from outside the region, such as Javanese, Makassarese, and people from Central Sulawesi. In my interviews, most adult speakers from North Sulawesi know kin terms for at least four or five different ethnic languages. A speaker may detect the addressee's ethnicity after several interactions, and when s/he wants to show closeness, s/he selects a kin term from the addressee's language, as shown in section 5.4. The same mechanism is found elsewhere in the Malay-speaking world.

When selecting a kin term, various features of the addressee should be taken into consideration. It is obligatory to assess the addressee's age/generation, but occupational features also affect selection. Several respondents in Lampung commented that an *ojek* "motor-bike taxi" driver will normally be called *Mas* "big brother (Javanese)" or *Abang* "big brother (Indonesian)", regardless of his age.

Terms of address towards young adults and middle-aged adults are summarized in this section because they are the most useful ones in the INTERMEDIATE domain. In Indonesia, staff in a restaurant are addressed by terms for young adults even if they are in their forties or even married. It is by using these terms that one can safely address young people at their first encounter. These terms vary depending upon the region; in Java and areas influenced by Javanese culture they are *Mas/Mbak*, in Sundanese areas *Akang/Teteh*, are used, in Sumatra and some parts of Kalimantan *Abang/Kakak* occur,

and in some parts of Sulawesi, *Cowok/Cewek* are found. *Nyong/Nona* is also used in many parts of East Indonesia, such as Ambon, Manado (North Sulawesi), Kupang (NTT).

There are some confusing issues for people from other areas of the country regarding the address terms discussed here. In some areas, such as in NTT and parts of North Sulawesi where the Sangir language is spoken, a young male is addressed by *Bu*, the same phonological form as that used for adult females in standard Indonesian. A counterpart of *Bu* is *Kaka* in NTT, and *Usi* in Sangiric-speaking areas. As has been demonstrated, *Kakak* is the word meaning "older sibling" regardless of the gender in standard Indonesian, but as an address term, *Kakak/Kaka* or its abbreviated form *Kak* is reserved for young adult female in many places in Sumatra, Kalimantan, and NTT.

Terms for middle-aged adults also vary from region to region. See section 5.2 for exmple.

To summarize, ethnicity, age, generation, occupational, and religious status are important factors in the INTERMEDIATE domain. When two people have been known to each other on an ongoing basis, they may switch to another address term to show intimacy. Switching to another address term most often happens in the INTERMEDIATE domain.

6.3 Address terms in the INFORMAL domain

The INFORMAL domain refers to the most basic setting of everyday life. Interactions that occur in the home or in close vicinity of one's house, with family or relatives, or among friends/neighbors who have known one another for a relatively long time are defined as INFORMAL. Address terms which are used in this domain vary not only from region to region but also from ethnic group to ethnic group and from family to family. A speaker does not have to think about what is the most appropriate term to use in this domain – it is pre-determined and a speaker uses only one address term toward a specific addressee. As such, one speaker may have a limited set of address terms, but when looking at the use of address terms of every member in the society, the choices are tremendously varied.

Personal names, as well as nicknames are used most often in this domain, since a speaker normally addresses younger members by their names. Between close friends of roughly the same age, reciprocal use of personal names/nicknames is most common. Within a family, kin terms of the ethnic language to which they belong are used in most situations. When two parents have different backgrounds, terms from the regionally dominant language of one parent have a greater chance of being chosen, but family members may mix kin terms from both languages. Job titles and religious titles are not used among family, but they may well be used with neighbors.

A shift of address term may occur between friends or neighbors, reflecting the distance of the two people, or according to the change of the status, such as getting a new job or having made a pilgrimage. The use of bound pronouns may be affected by the distance of interlocuters, but the address terms as defined in this paper less so.

6.4 Summary

To conclude this section, I argue that there is a parallel phenomenon between the choice of language variety and the choice of terms of address one uses. The extent of variation of languages being used differs from domain to domain, as does the choice of address term. In the FORMAL domain, a standard variety of Malay which is nationally shared

is used in most cases. Address terms which are used in this domain are also those found in a nationally-standardized variety. In the INTERMEDIATE domain, a regionally common language is favored. In some areas, multiple choices of variety are possible. The choice of address terms becomes greater and the total possibilities differ from region to region. Finally, in the INFORMAL domain, each ethnic language or colloquial Malay variety can be chosen as a means of communication. The largest number of languages/varieties are found in this INFORMAL domain, as are the address terms which vary among languages and among different ethnic groups.

7. Regional variations

In this section, the address terms from Java, Lampung, North Sulawesi, and Kota Kinabalu are presented. Consultants from each region offered the data for the descriptions in this section. After they gave the terms of address that they think they use, I asked when, where and to whom each term can be used. Specific settings such as "in the market", "at the bank", or "towards a close friend" are given so that consultants can choose the most appropriate term of address. I categorized them according to the attributes of the addressee first. Then I further categorize them according to the social situation and relationship between the speaker and the addressee in which it can be used, i.e., +/–public, +/–respectful, +/–intimate. Finally, those terms are categorized into one of the three domains. In all of the regions mentioned in these sections, FORMAL address terms do not vary: *Bapak/Ibu* or their abbreviated forms *Pak/Bu*. Job and religious titles are used as described in section 6.1. The following sections focus on address terms in the INTERMEDIATE and INFORMAL domains since they demonstrate the greatest degree of regional variation.

7.1 Java

In the INFORMAL domain, greater variation of kin terms is found than in the other two domains. In addition to *Mas/Mbak*, *Kang/Yu* are used to address young adults. The latter are used in small communities such villages and are associated with the lower classes. The perfect forms of *Mas/Kang*, which are *Kangmas* and *Mbakyu*,[23] are used between girlfriend and boyfriend or between husband and wife, mostly by high and middle-class people. *Diajeng* or *Jeng* is used to address a girl by her boyfriend or a husband, also by high and middle-class people. The Indonesian word *Sayang* or its abbreviated form *Say* is also used between boyfriend and girlfriend or husband and wife.

Grandparents are addressed as *Eyang* in middle-to-high-class families, whereas *Mbah anang/Mbah edok* are used in lower-class families.[24] A father is addressed *Bapak/Pak*, and mother *Ibu/Bu* or *Mbok*, and its abbreviated form *Mak* is used in lower-class families. All of the above can be used towards someone outside one's own family.

Uncles and Aunts have different address terms with respect to the relative age of one's parent. The older brother of a parent is called *Pakdhe* (abbreviation of *Bapak Gedhe* "father big"), the younger brother *Paklik* (*Bapak Cilik* "father small"), the older sister *Budhe* (*Ibu Gedhe* "mother big"), and the younger sister *Bulik* (*Ibu Cilik* "mother small").

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[23] Thomas J. Conners, personal communication.

[24] This difference in usages is due to the fact that *Eyang* is a high-style (*karama inggil*) lexicon and *Mbah* is low-style (*ngoko*) lexicon in Javanese (Thomas J. Conners: personal communication).

Many Islamic titles are used in the INTERMEDIATE domain as well as in the FORMAL domain. Certain people are called by Islamic titles in the INFORMAL domain as well.

Sundanese families may use *Aki* or its abbreviated form *Ki* towards one's grandfather, and *Nini* towards a grandmother, *Bapa* towards a father, *Mama* or *Ema* or *Ambu* towards a mother. *Toa* or *Ua* is used towards the older brother of a parent, *Mamang*, *Emang* or *Mang* towards the younger brother of a parent, and *Bibi* towards the younger sister of a parent. *Akang* or its abbreviated form *Kang* is used to address a young adult male, and *Teteh* or its abbreviated form *Teh* to address a young adult female. *Aa* is a Sundanese word for older sibling and *Ayi* is for younger sibling, both of which can be used to address an older brother or sister. *Incu* is the word for grandchild. All these kin terms may also be used for someone outside the family.

Borrowed terms from English are also commonly heard among youth. *Bro/Sis* is used towards someone of the same generation and *Bos* towards someone older.

Manns 2015 demonstrates that among youth in Malang, a city in East Java, in-group address terms such as *Gondola* "champion" and *Gendeng* "crazy" are also used, sometimes in a joking manner.

In the INTERMEDIATE domain, some of the terms above can also be used, especially terms for young adults (*Mas/Mbak*, *Kang/Yu*), but terms mainly used between family members are not used so often.

In the FORMAL domain, *Pak/Ibu* are used most often, but Javanese kin terms such as *Mas/Mbak* may also be used. Speakers use *Mas/Mbak* more widely, i.e., towards an addressee of broader age range, in the INTERMEDIATE domain. Job and religious titles are used in both the FORMAL and the INTERMEDIATE domains, but they are also more frequently used in the INTERMEDIATE domain.

7.2 Lampung

In Lampung, a colloquial variety of Indonesian is the most widely used language among people living in Lampung. Lampungish is now in danger of extinction (Katubi, 2006). The following description refers to Lestari (2018).

Pak/Bu are used in the FORMAL domain. As for address terms for young adults, *Mas/Mbak*, which are Javanese terms, are sometimes used in the FORMAL domain, but their use is mostly found in the INTERMEDIATE domain. *Abang/Kakak* are Sumatran terms for young adults and are also used in the INTERMEDIATE domain. When addressing an *oplet* (small public bus) driver or a trader in a market, *Mang* is the term most frequently selected. Waiters and waitresses in restaurants and small shops are addressed as *Mas/Mbak*, even when they are forty and older. Some respondents commented that the addressee should be more than sixty years old to be called *Pak/Bu* in these settings (INTERMEDIATE domain). Chinese descendants are addressed *Koh/Cik* regardless of age/generation.

In the INFORMAL domain, each ethnic group has its own set of address terms. Within the Chinese community, *Asuk* for a young male and *Kunkung*/*koko* for a young female are used. Minangkabau people are often addressed as *Uda*/*Uni*, as previously shown in section 5.4. Among Lampungic families, *Kiai*, *Puan*, *Daing Batin*, and *Adin*, which all mean an older sibling, are used. *Abang*/*Kakak* are mostly used among people who originate from elsewhere in Sumatra to address older siblings/relatives.

7.3 Papua

In Papua, many Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages are spoken. Papuan Malay, a variety of colloquial Malay, is the regional common language.

Bapa[25] "father" and *Mama* "mother" are used to address one's parents. These two terms are also used in the FORMAL domain to show respect, but as mentioned in section 6.3, in a very formal occasion it is safer to use *Pak/Bu*. *Tete* "grandfather" and *Nene* "grandmother" are used to address older people. *Pace* "uncle" and *Mace* "aunt" are most commonly used towards adults in the INTERMEDIATE and INFORMAL domains. They have wide-spread usage; they can be used towards someone whom a speaker does not know well, towards a friend, or towards a husband or wife. They are regarded as having low prestige but are now associated with local pride and showing solidarity or closeness. *Om*/*Tanta* "uncle/aunt" are also used to address middle-aged adults or someone a generation older, but they do not show intimacy. *Kaka* "older sibling" and *Ade* "younger sibling" are also used in the INTERMEDIATE domain and are used according to the relative age difference between a speaker and an addressee. Within a family group, kin terms from each respective ethnic language are used, which differ from ethnic group to ethnic group.

7.4 Kupang

In Kupang, a city in NTT, many ethnic languages, both Austronesian and non-Austronesian, are spoken.

In the FORMAL domain, *Bapa* and *Mama* are used as polite terms of address. *Bai* "grandfather", *Nene* "grandmother", *Besa* "uncle", and *Usi* "aunt" are also used in the INTERMEDIATE domain, the former two towards elderly people and the latter two towards middle-aged adults. *Om*/*Tanta* for middle-aged adults and *Nyong*/*Nona* for young adults are widely used in Eastern Indonesia and are also used in Kupang in the INTERMEDIATE domain. As for the INFORMAL domain, *Kaka* "older sibling" and *Adi* "younger sibling" are used regardless of gender and are selected according to the relative age difference between a speaker and an addressee. *Sobat* "friend" (cf. *sahabat* in standard Indonesian) is used among close friends.

7.5 North Sulawesi

As noted earlier, North Sulawesi province is a multi-ethnic society where eleven non-Malayic languages are spoken. Manado Malay, one of the pidgin-derived colloquial varieties of Malay has extended its usage into more and more domains of communication in the last fifty years, making all indigenous languages endangered. In the FORMAL domain, *Pak*/*Bu* are used as in other areas. As for the INTERMEDIATE domain, Eastern Indonesian terms such as *Om*/*Tanta* for middle-aged adults and *Nyong*/*Nona* for young adults, are used. The latter terms occur interchangeably with *Cowok*/*Cewek* "boy/girl", with these being the more commonly used terms in commercial settings such as restaurants or shops.

Professional titles for teachers are *Engku* for a young man and *Encik*/*Enci* for a young woman. However, for older teachers, *Bapak Guru* and *Ibu Guru*, which are the nationally shared terms, are used. Towards lecturers at a university, *Mner* is used towards a male and *Ibu Dosen* towards a female. As for religious leaders, *Bapak*/*Ibu*

[25] No /k/ sound or a glottal stop is heard unlike the standard Indonesian equivalent *Bapak*.

Pendeta are used towards a pastor, and *Guru Jemaat* for a teacher at Sunday school. Those terms are used both in the FORMAL and INTERMEDIATE domains.

In the INFORMAL domain, *Kakak* "older sibling" and *Ade* "young sibling" are frequently used regardless of the gender, but they reflect the relative age difference between a speaker and an addressee. Although *Ade* is also used to address young children in the INTERMEDIATE domain, it is only in the INFORMAL domain that it can be used for a young adult. When older people are well known to a speaker, *Opo*/*Oma* "grandfather/grandmother" can be used. *Koh*/*Cik* are also used towards Chinese descendants. *Bos*, a borrowed term from English "boss", is commonly used in this domain towards a person whose social status is higher than the speaker or for someone older than the speaker.

Regionally shared INFORMAL terms among young people include *Bro*/*Sis*, from English "brother/sister". *Pace*/*Mace*, for middle-aged man/woman, are also used in this region. Unlike in Papua, where these terms have now gained a certain prestige, they are regarded to be rather rude terms in North Sulawesi. Ethnic kin terms are abundant in the INFOMRAL domain as in other multi-ethnic communities. These terms can also be used in the INTERMEDIATE domain when the interlocutors are well acquainted so that one's ethnic background is known. *Tole(k)*/*Keke(k)* are the terms for young adult man/woman in Minahasa. *Ungke*/*Momo* are the terms which are used for an adult man/woman of any age group from the Sangir islands. Also, *Opo*/*Wawu* are used towards a young man/woman and *Bu*/*Usi* towards a middle-aged man/woman if she or he is from Sangir.

People from the Talaud islands are addressed as *Hawe*[26]/*Wola*, regardless of their age. *Bu*/*Susi* are more respectful terms reserved for people with a higher social status. *Utu*/*Ji* are the terms for middle-aged man/woman, *Tole* is the term for a young male. Young women are addressed as *Nona* or *Cewek,* a regionally shared term.

People in North Sulawesi are also knowledgeable about kin terms in the Gorontalo language, which is spoken in the province to the West. *Uti* is used for a man and *No'u* towards a woman. *Paman*/*Nyonya* are used to address middle-aged adult Chinese descendants, and *Koh*/*Cik* are also in use.

There are kin terms which are primarily used for person reference, that is, as a core argument of a predicate but not as an address term. *Sebe*/*Ajus*[27] "father/mother" are used in the region regardless of ethnicity. Recently, however, *Sebe*/*Ajus* are also used as terms of address, towards one's own parents. Some young people even extend their usage to address middle-aged adults of no biological relation, but for older people these terms are not polite enough to be used towards a non-family member.

According to Pangemanan, Wantalangi & Maru (2018), there are numerous in-group address terms among young men in Manado city. In addition to *Bos* and *Bro*/*Sis*, *Fren* from English word "Friend", and *Sob* from Indonesian word *sahabat* "friend" are often used. In a joking manner, *Anjing* "dog", *Babi* "pig", *Kambing* "goat", *Botak* (or its abbreviated form *Bots*) "bald", *Gocap* (abbreviated form of *gondrong caparuni* "long-haired dirty") can be used if a speaker and an addressee are very close friends.

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[26] The lexical meaning of this word is "friend".

[27] The etymology of both *Sebe/Ajus* is not clear, but folk etymology says that *Sebe* is derived from *Setan Besar* "big Devil" and *Ajus* from *Ajudan Setan* "Devil's assistant".

7.6 Kota Kinabalu

Kota Kinabalu is a district city in Sabah State, in Malaysian Borneo (East Malaysia). It is the third-largest city in Malaysia with a population of more than 3.5 million which attracts people not only from Sabah, but also from other areas of Malaysia and Kalimantan (the Indonesian territory of the same island). Sabah State alone is estimated to have at least 42 ethnic groups. Many Malayic languages as well as non-Malayic Austronesian languages are spoken, in addition to migrant languages such as varieties of Chinese. English, which is widely used all over Malaysia, is also used in formal settings.

In the FORMAL domain, nationally shared polite terms *Tuan*/*Puan* and *Encik*/*Cik* are used as well as the job and religious titles described in sections 4.2 and 4.3. *Dayang* and *Mis* are also used towards an adult female regardless of her marital status. For a religious leader, *Imam* is also widely used with or without a modifying element. *Imam Maas* "great Islamic leader", *Imam Bata'*[28] "moderate rank Islamic leader", are among these. The term for a religious leader, *Imam*, is also used in the INTERMEDIATE domain with an element added to indicate closeness, for example *Apu' Imam* for elderly and middle-aged leaders, and *Utu' Imam* for younger leaders. With respect to kin terms, *Abang/Kakak* and their abbreviated forms *Bang/Kak*, which are in use in the Indonesian side of the island and in Sumatra are also used in Kota Kinabalu towards young adults. As already mentioned in Section 4.1, peoples who have ethnic backgrounds of Suluk, Iranun and Kadazan, use *Kakak* for young adults of both genders. If an addressee is middle-aged or older, *Pakcik*/*Makcik* are used. *Adik* is used towards a person who is considerably younger than the speaker, regardless of the gender, in the INTERMDIATE domain.

In the INFORMAL domain, each ethnic group has its own set of kin terms for family, but some kin terms that are used in the INTERMIEDIATE domain described above, as well as *Atuk*/*Nenek* "grandfather/grandmother", can also be used within a close relationship. *Bro/Sis* are also very common among young people to refer to close friends.

Brunei Malay speakers address their children by the order of birth. *Bang* "older brother" can accompany a personal name for the purpose of differentiation, but the oldest sibling can also be called *Bang (A)long*, the second *Bang (A)chih*, and the third *Bang Anggah*. These additional elements which indicate birth order can also follow *Kak* "older sister". *Along*, *Achih*, and *Anggah* are used according to the order of birth, with no respect given to gender. Thus, when the first child is a girl, she is called *Kak Along*, the second child who happens to be a boy is called *Bang Achih*, the third female child is called *Kak Anggah*, and so on. Uncles and aunts are also addressed using the same system, with words that indicate the order of birth following either *Pak* "uncle" or *Mak* "aunt. The oldest sibling of one's parent is called *Pak*/*Mak Long*, the second oldest *Pak*/*Mak Chih*, and the third oldest *Pak*/*Mak Anggah*. The fourth child and onwards are called by their respective names, for instance *Kak Kartini* or *Mak Kartini*. The youngest child in the family will be called *Bungsu* "the youngest child" or *Uchuk*, irrespective of the gender.

Address terms for parents vary from family to family among Brunei communities. Possible pairs include *Ayah*/*Ibu*, *Bapa*/*Mama*, and *Abi*/*Umi*. Grandparents are addressed either by *Datuk*/*Nenek* or its abbreviated form *Tuk*/*Nek*, or *Moyong*, regardless of gender.

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[28] The apostrophe here stands for a glottal stop.

There is a large community of Suluk people in Kota Kinabalu. The address term for young adults is *Kakak* regardless of gender. Older siblings in a family are called *Utu'/Inda'*. These terms can also be used by parents for their older sons and daughters. To address the eldest son or daughter, only *Utu'/Inda'* are used. When a speaker addresses the second-born (or later) son or daughter, he/she needs to add a personal name. These are the terms often used by anyone in the community towards young adults who are deemed to serve the community in an outstanding way. Using these terms in a shop or a restaurant towards someone who is older than a speaker is also common. *Magulang* is another term for addressing an older sibling, and its usage extends to non-family members who are older than the speaker.

Amaun/*Inaun* "uncle/aunt" are address terms often used in small shops or restaurants. These terms are derived from *Ama'*/*Ina'* "father/mother", which are used to address one's parents. When a personal name accompanies either *Ama'* or *Ina'*, it is someone whose age is similar to that of the speaker's parents. In contrast, one's parents are never addressed with a personal name; just *Ama'* or *Ina'*.

Grandparents are addressed with *Apu'* regardless of the gender. *Apu' usug* "grandfather" and *Apu' babai* "grandmother" are only used as a person reference, but not for addressing. By contrast, *Apu' Ama'* "grandparent father" and *Apu' Ina'* "grandparent mother" are possible terms of address. Interestingly, *apu'* is a word that denotes either grandparent or grandchild. It is possible to address one's grandchild as *Apu'* and this is a reciprocal term of address between a grandparent and a grandchild.

Pangtungud is a term for a cousin which can be used regardless of gender. No personal name can follow this term. Between husband and wife, *Lasa*, or more traditionally, *Rang*, is the term used. *Taimanghud* and *Langgung* can be used in Islamic Suluk community. These terms signals "sameness"; the same religion (Islam) and the same ethnic group (Suluk).

In the Lundayeh community, young adults are addressed with *Wei'*/*Neng*. In addition, other possible terms are *Abo*/*Emu*. *Ama'*/*Ina'* "father/mother" are also used in to address middle-aged adults. Elderly people are addressed with *Epu*, regardless of gender. *Epu delai* "grandfather" and *Epu dəcur* "grandmother" are used as person reference, but not as address terms.

8. Conclusion

This research has been undertaken in order to reveal variations in use of the address terms which occur in Indonesia and Malaysia. Numerous address terms have been collected and categorized according to their ethnic use and level of formality. Kin terms from various ethnic languages comprise the largest proportion in the Malay-speaking world but job titles and religious titles are also common. Personal names, too, are used as address terms, and the combination of personal names and other address terms is also common. There are some limitations for these combinations, which were discussed in section 4.4.

Sociolinguistic factors which are present cross-linguistically are also applicable to the analysis of the address terms. The most relevant four factors are social status, age/generation including marital status, gender, and ethnicity, all of which were discussed in section 5. Among them, "ethnicity" is the factor which becomes relevant when a speaker wants to show closeness towards an addressee.

This paper attempts to describe language choice in multi-lingual societies in relation to address term classifications. It claims that it is necessary to posit at least three different domains of language usage: the FORMAL domain, the INTERMEDIATE domain, and the INFORMAL domain. The FORMAL domain is defined by +respectful, +public, and –intimate. The INTERMEDIATE domain is defined by –respectful, and +public. It is indeterminate with intimacy: it can be present or absent in this domain, depending on the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. The INFORMAL domain is defined by –respectful, –public, and +intimate. In the FORMAL domain, the choice of address terms are rather limited as is the choice of language. In the INTERMEDIATE domain, each region has its own set of address terms which are borrowed from regional ethnic languages, resulting in an extreme amount of regional variation. Individual speakers select their ethnic language and terms of address in that language at home and its surrounds, which belong to the INFORMAL domain. The choice of address terms becomes most diverse in this domain.

In the final section, the set of address terms most commonly used in six regions of the Malay-speaking world is described and categorized by the four factors relating to addressees and the three different domains.

The Malay-speaking world has abundance of address terms. By considering lexicons employed, conditioning factors, and social domains, a proper classification is hypothesized.

For future investigation, I would like to suggest the following. This paper has looked into only six regions, only one of which is in Malaysia. More research in boarder areas are needed to understand the whole picture of usage of address terms in the Malay-speaking world. Also, a large-scale investigation by distributing a questionnaire in each region will help to understand generational difference with regard to the usages of address terms.

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